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and that Croatian science would endeavour to elucidate this problem [*sic*].

Croatia had been the starting-point of the defection which dislocated Yugoslavia, but a Croat, Joseph Broz (Marshal Tito), was at the head of the movement which resuscitated that country. This movement began as a guerrilla war waged by partisans; it grew into the rising of a whole nation. 'Tito', by his previous political activity, by his participation in the Spanish campaign (where he had met Rodnitzev, the future defender of Stalingrad), had made numerous contacts with Soviet generals and statesmen. He had Moscow's unconditional support in organising resistance in the Balkans and, at the request of the Russians, he ousted, in the confidence of the Allies, General Mihaïlovich, one of the earliest rebels, but who was reproached with Serbian exclusiveness and with executions of Communists.

By regrouping, under the ægis of Russia, the Serbian, Croatian, Slovene, and Macedonian populations, Tito made himself the champion of a cause that was specifically Slavonic.

In Bulgaria, Communist opposition and popular sentiment (immemorially attached to Russia, but, since Stalingrad, more enthusiastic than ever as the result of the recovery of the Red Armies) obstructed with increasing boldness the Hitlerophile policy of the Government, which periodic contacts with the Führer failed to stabilise.

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In order to galvanise and render articulate the new solidarity on democratic lines which was shaping itself among the Slavonic peoples against their common aggressor, congresses were organised. The first was held at Moscow in August, 1941, only a few weeks after Russia's entry into the war. It may be considered the cradle of this rebirth of Slavism. The opening address was pronounced by the Soviet writer, Alexis Tolstoy. 'We reject', he said, 'the old ideology of Panslavism, which we consider reactionary and contrary to the principle of equality among the nations. . . . Slavs, let us unite, that each Slavonic nation may be entitled, as the other nations are, to a free, peaceful existence, that the culture of our nations may flourish without restraint. . . . The fires of Warsaw and of Belgrade are not yet extinct. From the spark springs the flame; the wind of hatred fans these smoking ruins, in which are consumed German

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Fascism's dreams of bloodthirsty domination over the Slavonic world. . . . Slavs, Ukrainian Russians, White Russians, Poles, Czechs, Slovenes, Serbs, Croats, Montenegrins, Macedonians, Bulgars, Slovaks, Ukrainians of Sub-Carpathia, the time has come to unite in the common struggle against German Fascism!'

The Congress paid tribute to the memory of the three million Slavs who had already died on the field of battle or in camps. The Polish authoress, Wanda Wassiliewska, announced that, on Soviet territory, a Polish army was being formed, 'which would fight shoulder to shoulder with the Red Army'. Two days earlier, the Czech Government in London had given the same assurance concerning their compatriots. All civilians of Slav nationality were called upon to sabotage the enemy's means of communication and military equipment, to starve him, to multiply ambushes for him. Before breaking up, the Congress (as in 1867) appointed a Committee to make contact with all the Slav organisations in the world; it was also to publish documents showing how Hitler was carrying out the extermination of the Slavs.

This Congress had been a first contact—a sort of family council. The one held in the following year (April 4 and 5, 1942) was the most extensive, the most eloquent demonstration of Slav solidarity that the world has ever seen. Spokesmen of all the Slavonic nations, each speaking in his own language, succeeded each other on the platform, whence their declarations were broadcast.

The proceedings opened with a call to 'a holy war against Fascism' by Lieut.-General Gondorov (who was to preside over all the great Slavonic Assemblies). They closed on an appeal formulated by the Soviet writer, Nicolas Tikhonov: 'Oppressed brother Slavs, forward for the national war, the war of liberation! This summons will ring like a tocsin in Belgrade destroyed by the German barbarians, in war-torn Warsaw, in Prague, streaming with the blood of her best sons, in the valleys of the Carpathians and of the Balkans, in the Steppes of the Ukraine, in the forests of White Russia and of Poland, on the banks of the Dnieper and the shores of the Adriatic, on the hills of the Vistula and on the blue Danube!'

The Serbian Professor, Bojidar Maslarich, according to the tradition of his country, quoted the epic of the drama in which

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numerous Soviet militants, including the composer, Dmitry Chostakovich, member of the Panslav Committee, who, opposing the Pan-Germanic theories, vindicated Slavonic culture. 'I am proud to be a Russian, I boast of being a Slav. . . . If we must speak of "superior" and "inferior" representatives of humanity, then we can class the German Fascists in the category of the basest! Have they not profaned Yasnaia Poliana (Leo Tolstoy's house), the most sacred treasure of the Russian nation; trodden underfoot Tchaikovsky's scripts at Klin; destroyed at Tikhvina the house where Rimsky Korsakov was born; demolished immortal monuments of Russian architecture at Novgorod and Istra? . . . May all the spiritual forces, all the intellectuals of the glorious family of the Slavonic nations intrepidly fulfil the great mission entrusted to them by history!'

The philosophy of this Congress was summed up in an article in the form of a programme, from the pen of the Russian writer, Alexis Tolstoy, and published by the *Pravda* of Moscow:

'We must revise the whole history of the Slavonic peoples. Our contribution to European civilisation has not been less than that of other peoples. During the space of a thousand years, our young blood gave life to Byzantium in its decrepitude. It was thanks to the Slavs that Byzantium preserved ancient civilisation, and transmitted it to feudal Europe. The Slavonic peoples, hard-working, lovers of liberty, peace, and culture had as their neighbours, on the east, nomadic Empires which always cherished the chimerical design of conquering the world, and, on the west, medieval emperors whose imposing cavalcades were no less vain. These aggressions from the east and from the west broke against the intrepid resistance of the Slavonic world. The role of the Slavonic peoples in the formation of European Humanism has not yet been appreciated at its true value. . . . Slavs, to arms! Up, for our mutual relentless struggle!'

Would you not take this—except for the religious note—for a page from one of the Slavophiles of the forties, or a speech by the historian, Pogodin, at the 1867 Congress?

Anticipating Tolstoy's hopes, the Congress had decided on the publication of a monthly review (*The Slavs*), the aim of which was to make known the services rendered to humanity by the Slav civilisation and to tighten the bonds uniting its present representatives.